

E. Porter. 1872 -

Connecticut Republican Magazine.

TWENTY-SEVENTH YEAR OF AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE.

NUMBER IV.—VOLUME I.

By LUTHER PRATT.

*"The Country claims our active aid;
THAT, let us roam, and where we find a spark
Of Public Virtue, blow it into Flame."*

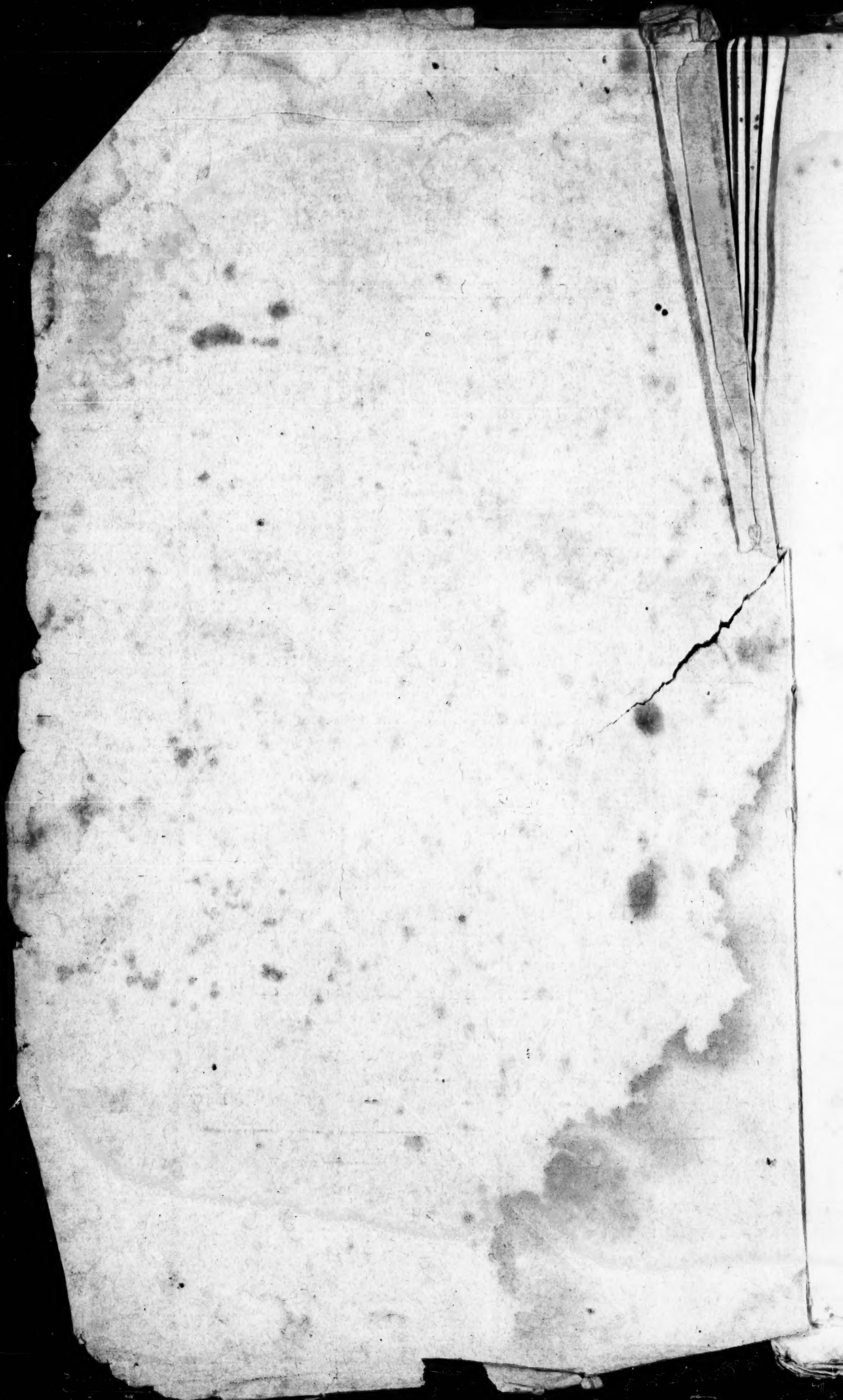
—CONTENTS. PAGE.

Proofs of the negotiation between a federal gentleman, authorised by the leading federalists at Washington, and Mr. Burr, to place himself in the presidency, at the late election, concluded	121
A Summary of the Political Principles of John Adams, late President of the United States; illustrated and proved by extracts from his writings on Government, continued	130
A most interesting Discussion, of the fundamental points of difference between the two great political parties in the United States, by the said John Adams, a federalist and Samuel Adams, late governor of Massachusetts, a republican, in four letters, written while the former was Vice-President of the United States, and the latter Lieutenant-Governor of Massachusetts.	134
The President's Message to Congress	148
On the Freedom of Elections	153
Poetry	157

PRINTED AT SUFFIELD.

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Connecticut Republican Magazine.

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TWENTY-SEVENTH YEAR OF AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE.

—
NUMBER IV.—VOLUME I.

—
BY LUTHER PRATT.

—
FROM THE AMERICAN CITIZEN.

— PROOFS

OF THE NEGOCIATION BETWEEN A FEDERAL GENTLEMAN, AUTHORIZED BY THE LEADING FEDERALISTS AT WASHINGTON, AND MR. BURR, TO PLACE HIMSELF IN THE PRESIDENCY AT THE LATE ELECTION,

—
TO THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES.

—
(Concluded from page 89.)

IMMEDIATELY after Mr. Ogden's interview with Mr. Burr, a letter was written by a *leading federalist* in this city, to an influential member of congress at Washington, giving a full and accurate detail of the negociation. The following letter, addressed to a gentleman in this city, and written at Washington at the time, fully explains the one penned by the *leading federalist* just mentioned.

—
"Washington, 29th January 1801.

"It is not true that there is an inequality in the vote of South-Carolina favorable to Mr. Jefferson; and the union, I fear, will have deep cause to lament it. The prospects are far less bright and decisive than could be wished, which makes it more interesting that the real friends of Mr. Jefferson's election should be watchful against the intrigues which are in train for the purpose of defeating it.

"The following information comes to me through different channels in which implicit confidence may be placed.

"Mr. David A. Ogden of your city, when not long since at Washington, was authorised by some leading men on the federal side in Congress, to have a conference with Col. Burr for the purpose of ascertaining two things; first, what would be the con-

duct he would observe if elected by the means of the federalists in respect to certain cardinal points of federal policy? second, what co-operation and aid he could and would afford towards procuring success to his own election, if the attempt should be made."

"Mr. Ogden, having made a communication accordingly to Col. Burr, was answered by him in substance, that as to the first point it would not be proper or expedient to enter into explanation—that the federalists must rely upon the situation in which he would be placed if raised to the presidency by their votes, in opposition to the adverse party. That as to the second point, the federalists might be assured that New-York and Tennessee on a second ballot would vote for him, and that probably, New-Jersey and one of the southern states might be induced to do the same.

"In a subsequent conference, he referred to a gentleman who he said would be entrusted to speak more particularly, and was to be his confidential friend at the seat of government.

"The material points of this negotiation, though not with all the particulars mentioned above, have been communicated in a letter from a high federal character in your city, and one who has long had a predominant controul in his party, to an influential member of congress,

"This is the well known wish of the people, bartered to promote individual interest, and a man elevated to the great office of state who has been raised into notice by the well earned popularity of him he would supplant.

"This comes to me in a shape which renders any communication of it embarrassing in the extreme, and requires particularly that the name of the negociator should be a profound secret; but it appeared to me essential that you should be apprised of it, the better to enable you to observe the future motions of the parties.

"Means of a very prompt and imperative nature must be adopted to counteract the scheme. You may remotely hint the possibility of some overtures from the profligacy and desperation of the party.

"Your delegation should be urged from different quarters to remain firm, regardless of temporary appearances or the opinions of wavering or timid minds. The federalists discover a concert strongly indicative of some important object."

By adverting to the date it will be seen that the above letter was written immediately after Mr. Ogden's negotiation with Mr. Burr, and a letter had been received at Washington from a leading federal character there, detailing the terms of that

negociation. It will also be seen, that the letter is of a highly confidential nature, and that considerations of peculiar delicacy prevented its being made public to the world. Nothing but the importance of the subject and the bold and unblushing denial of the negociation by Mr. Burr, could have induced the gentleman who wrote it, to permit its publication.—Nor was the writer's consent to give it publicity obtained until a letter was written to him by a friend of ours for that purpose, and to whom the following is an answer :

“ 5th October, 1801.

“ *Dear Sir,*”

“ I was absent on a visit and did not return 'till this morning after the mail had closed. I perceive the importance of the request which is made of you, but I am under restraints of peculiar delicacy,”

“ Our intelligent friends would I think be satisfied with my permitting the substance of my confidential communications to you to be made known. The critical circumstances under which I gave it to you, have justified me to myself—To give the exact terms of my letter, may involve me in very serious personal inconveniences ; but if you have reason to expect collusion between Burr and Ogden, and that engagements of secrecy have been made by others, you had then better authorise a literal publication, and in case Ogden denies the facts stated therein, you are authorised from me, to give the name of _____, as the *high federal character* I alluded to, as the writer of a letter to Washington, and on which mine was predicated. I made a memorandum at the time, I thought I had taken the date, but I well recollect it was in January. If Ogden should prevaricate, and this become necessary, it would conform with my wishes that you signify to _____ my name.”

“ I am able fully to establish the fact. I can hardly think he will lend his weight of reputation to countenance such extreme profligacy.—But we ought to suppose nothing impossible when we consider the strong motives of party policy which may exist for disguising the transaction.”

The public will now be anxious to know the name of the “high federal character” who wrote the letter from this city, to an influential member of congress, detailing the negociation. The name is still a mystery. It is eminently due to the gentleman to whom the two above letters were addressed, and who has kindly put copies of them into our possession to say he has not communicated to us the name of the “high federal character.” Yet we are in possession of a variety of facts derived from a multiplicity of sources, which do more than enable us to conjecture, with con-

siderable accuracy, the name of the "high federal character." We therefore state it as our decided opinion, and on which we think the public may with safety rely, that General HAMILTON is that "high federal character." His connection with Mr. Ogden, the negociator, is known to be of the most intimate and endearing kind. His knowledge of the negociation, will not therefore be doubted. He is also known as having long held "predominant controul" in the federal party. The actual influence of gen. Hamilton in that party corresponds precisely with the description given in the two letters. Besides, there are other corroborating circumstances which irresistibly impose upon us the belief that gen. Hamilton is the "high federal character" described. We will mention a powerful one. During the sitting of the supreme court of this state at Albany, in the winter of 1801, Josiah O. Hoffman, Esq, invited in that city a party of gentlemen to dine. General Hamilton, Judge Troup, Judge B. Livingston, and Judge Pendleton, all of the city of New-York were of the party. After dinner General Hamilton declared, openly, that Mr. Burr *had intrigued* with a *federal* gentleman to effect his election to the presidency. When spoken to on the boldness of the declaration, General Hamilton added that he could prove it, or it could be *proved in a court of justice!* The negociation was there made no secret of; General Hamilton made the declaration aloud and without reserve.

There are *other facts* in our possession which authorise us to state unequivocally, that General Hamilton is the "high federal character" alluded to in the two letters. If he is not, he will deny it publicly; if he is he has too much honor and integrity to disavow an act of his own.

If these facts stand in need of corroboration, there are concurring circumstances in abundance which strongly indicate the existence of the plot. The letter dated Washington 29th January, 1801, states that Mr. Burr observed, in reply to the second proposition of the negociation, to wit, "what co-operation he could and would afford toward procuring success to his election?" That "the federalists might be assured that New-York and Tennessee on a second ballot would vote for him, and that probably New-Jersey and one of the southern states might be induced to do the same." Such was the answer of Mr. Burr to the second proposition of the *negociator*.

The negociation was commenced in the city of New-York about the 15th of January 1801. The letter of general Hamilton to a *leading federal member of congress* detailing the negociation, was written about the 20th of the same month. That which gives the substance of general Hamilton's letter, is dated

Washington January 29th 1801. The negotiation was complete before January 20. On or about the 24th of January Mr. Burr left this city for Albany to take his seat in the state assembly. The same day or the day after, Mr. William P. Van Ness, who was not a member of the legislature, followed Mr. Burr to Albany. On the arrival of Mr. Burr, enquiries were made of him touching the presidential election. To every question he answered, with the utmost confidence and cheerfulness, that Mr. Jefferson would certainly be elected, and that no opposition could or would be made in the house of representatives. He uniformly treated the idea of material opposition in the house as extravagant and chimerical. This was precisely the conduct of Mr. Burr at Albany. And yet he knew that he had negotiated with Mr. Ogden to effect his own election to the presidency, and that in consequence of that negotiation every effort within the compass of the federal party would be exerted to accomplish it. This conduct of Mr. Burr at Albany, was such as every consummate and unprincipled intriguer would adopt. It was a matter of importance to him to prevent the transmission of letters from Albany to Washington urging firmness and perseverance in our representatives in favor of Mr. Jefferson's election; and Mr. Burr vainly imagined his placid deportment calculated to compass that object by allaying reasonable fears and composing alarming apprehensions. His intrigues were, however, perceived by a few individuals at Albany, and his representations were therefore little heeded.

Let us now view the conduct of his very confidential friend Mr. William P. Van Ness, of this city, who accompanied Mr. Burr to Albany. Those who have read the "Narrative" will perceive that this is the same gentleman who negotiated for Mr. Burr the suppression of the history of the administration of Mr. John Adams.

While Mr. Burr was openly declaring at Albany that there was no foundation for apprehension concerning the election of Mr. Jefferson, his private and confidential friend, Mr. William P. Van Ness, observed in *secret*, a conduct the very reverse. Mr. P. Van Ness was unremittingly employed in furthering the negotiation of Mr. Burr and Mr. Ogden. While at Albany, he wrote a letter to our representative, Mr. Edward Livingston, then at Washington, representing it as the *sense of the republicans of this state*; that *after the first or second vote in the house Mr. Jefferson should be given up!!* this corresponds with Mr. Burr's reply to the second proposition of Mr. Ogden, the negotiator, namely, that "on a second ballot, New-York would vote for him!" We do not assert that Mr. Van Ness wrote the letter

to Mr. Livingston on vague report ; it is stated as an *undeniable fact*, one which, if not true, is easy of refutation. The names of Mr. Van Ness the writer, and of Mr. Livingston the receiver of the letter, are mentioned ; both of whom live in this city.

Mr. Burr also replied to the second proposition of Mr. Ogden, that "on a second ballot, New-Jersey might be seduced to vote for him." What covert measures Mr. Burr took to endeavor to effect this, is not known ; but this is certain, that Mr. Van Ness wrote a letter to an influential republican who resides at Poughkeepsie, urging him in strong terms to procure letters from N. Jersey, advising the N. Jersey republican members in congress to drop Mr. Jefferson on the second ballot in the house !

Such were the proceedings of Mr. Burr and his confidential friend Mr. Van Ness at Albany, proceedings which exactly accord with the terms of the negociation concluded between Mr. Burr and Mr. Ogden.

Nor were the confidential friends of Mr. Burr silent or inactive in this city. Mr. Mathew L. Davis, *one of the depositaries of the secrets of Mr. Burr*, and on this account only deserving of notice, ran about from republican to republican during the balloting in the house, declaring that the republicans in congress acted very improperly in not giving up Mr. Jefferson, averring that they must eventually abandon him, that persevering in opposition would injure the feelings of Mr. Burr and that *no one could foresee the consequences* of such stubborn conduct if Mr. Burr should at length be elected ! It is probable that Mr. Davis at that time was apprised of the negociation between Mr. Burr and Mr. Ogden.

Our wonder at the pertinacity of the federalists in the house of Representatives will henceforward cease. The cause of it may now be clearly perceived. That opposition to Mr. Jefferson in the house which alarmed the country and brought it to the brink of civil war, was *founded on the negociation* concluded between Mr. Burr and Mr. Ogden. *Five and thirty times was the tranquility of the country endangered to elevate an intriguer to office contrary to the known will of a majority of the people.* Americans ! You have infinite cause to be thankful that the plot is discovered,

The federalists in the house of Representatives relied on the declaration of Mr. Burr to Mr. Ogden, that "on the second ballot New-York and New-Jersey would vote for him." Hence at every ballot they flocked round the ballot boxes of these two states, and with extreme solicitude enquired how the votes stood ? They were particularly attentive to the ballot box of New-York. For it was very reasonably supposed that if the state of New-

York gave way, others would follow the example. On the second ballot, however that state as well as New-Jersey, was found *faithful*. Still were the federalists in hopes, placing much confidence in the promises and machinations of Mr. Burr. Finding that they were twice disappointed, they yet persevered, deeming it probable that the *republican* representatives, on whose infidelity Mr. Burr had made his calculations intended only to exhibit a shew of firmness previous to an unqualified surrender. In this vain hope (but one though by the bye, not entirely without foundation) they continued to vote until it was found, *from whatever cause*, that no impression could be made on those *republican* members on whose *unfaithfulness* Mr. Burr had predicated all his expectations, and entered into the negotiation. The contest was then, and not till then, abandoned by the federalists.

We come now to notice the propositions submitted by Mr. Ogden to Mr. Burr and his answers thereto. On the correctness of these propositions and answers the public may implicitly rely; and should they be contradicted, either by general Hamilton, whom we say is the writer of the letter from this city to a leading member of congress at Washington, or by Mr. Ogden, the negotiator the reader will perceive that the gentleman, who has done the country so much service as to communicate those propositions and answers stands pledged virtually to "prove the facts." We are convinced however that neither the one nor the other can or will be done.

The first proposition of Mr. Ogden to Mr. Burr is this: "What would be the conduct he would observe, if elected by the means of the federalists in respect to certain *cardinal* points of *federal policy*?" To which Mr. Burr made the following reply: "As to the first point it would not be proper or expedient to enter into explanation—that the federalists must rely upon the situation in which he would be placed if raised to the presidency by their votes in opposition to the adverse party."

This answer is as full and satisfactory, for a *first interview*, as could possibly have been expected. Mr. Burr, aware of his *peculiar situation*, says—but in such a manner as not in the least to indicate a repulse—that it would "not be proper to enter into explanations."—That is to say, into *minute details*; and that such "explanation," or minuteness, would not be "expedient" for two reasons, first, because of the delicacy of his situation, and second, that so far as it was proper to satisfy the federalists as to "certain *cardinal* points of *federal policy*" general remarks in *that stage of the negotiation* would be sufficient. He then makes these general remarks, and says "the federalists must rely upon the situation in which he should be placed if raised to the presi-

dency in opposition to the adverse party."—Here Mr. Burr is too explicit to be misunderstood. If raised to the presidency by the federalists, he should owe his election to them, and consequently that the *cardinal* points of his administration should accord with *federal policy*. This is a plain and fair interpretation of Mr. Burr's reply to his first proposition, which is stronger and concedes more to Mr. Ogden than could well have been expected on a first interview.

But a *second* conference was had with Mr. Ogden in which Mr. Burr "referred to a gentleman who he said would be intrusted to speak more particularly, and who was to be his confidential friend at the seat of government. "This *confidential friend was intrusted*" by Mr. Burr to *complete the details* of the *general principles* of the negotiation to which Mr. Burr had previously and fully assented.

Mr. Burr's reply to the *second* proposition of Mr. Ogden clearly elucidates the meaning—if any elucidation be necessary—of his answer to the first. The first proposition is in these terms. "What co-operation and aid he (Mr. Burr) could and would afford towards procuring success to his own election if the attempt should be made?" To which Mr. Burr replied "the federalists might be assured that New-York and Tennessee on a second ballot would vote for him, and that probably New-Jersey and one of the southern states might be induced to do the same." In this reply is contained not only his assent to be held up by the federalists in opposition to Mr. Jefferson, but a positive assertion, alike consoling to himself and to the federal negociator that, "on a second ballot, New-York and Tennessee would vote for himself, and probably New-Jersey and a southern state might be induced to do the same." What is this but entering *fully* into the views of the federal negociator, Mr. Ogden, and holding out to him the most alluring temptations to oppose the election of Mr. Jefferson, and promising him indeed, in the event, the completest success? Nay, does not Mr. Burr's reply impart that he meant to use the most refined arts of seduction to effect his purposes? He says "that probably New-Jersey and a southern state might be *induced* to do the same." The word "*induced*" is uncommonly pertinent; has a peculiar signification, when uttered by a man negotiating with an antagonist to betray his cause! How were the two states to be *induced* to vote for Mr. Burr? Certainly not by the constituents of those representatives who were believed to be ardent for the election of Mr. Jefferson. For we witnessed an enthusiasm among the republicans at that period ready to unsheath the sword, in case of necessity, in favor of his election. No, the inducement was to be of that *peculiar*

kind which belongs exclusively to Mr. Burr ; it was to employ undue means to allure the representatives of the country from a discharge of their duty.

But how came Mr. Burr to be so *certain* that New-York would, on a second ballot, vote for himself? Had this state manifested a preference for Mr. Burr? *Certainly no.* The state of New-York would have been among the last in the union to have made choice of Mr. Burr in preference to Mr. Jefferson. And so conscious was Mr. Burr himself of the predilection of this state for Mr. Jefferson, that the resistless current of public opinion compelled him to manifest an assumed exterior, indicative of affection to Mr. Jefferson, at the very moment he was *secretly* negotiating with Mr. Ogden to supplant him. But we are treading on delicate ground. We draw the curtain over a transaction on which we cannot dwell with safety, not to Mr. Burr, but to others.

How then stands the account? First that Mr. Burr negotiated, as stated in the "View of his political conduct" with a federal gentleman to effect his election for the presidency. 2d that Mr. David A. Ogden of this city was the *negociator*. If it be said that because Mr. Ogden has not *certified* this himself it will not be believed ; we answer that it cannot be expected that he would do so for two reasons, first, because his own connection with Mr. Burr in the novel transaction would necessarily forbid it ; second, since his doing so would at once heal that division from which the federalists expect to profit. But it is nevertheless as true that Mr. Ogden *did negotiate* with Mr. Burr, as if he had made an affidavit of the negotiation ; and should Mr. David A. Ogden publicly deny it, a thing by no means expected, his denial *shall be disproved by testimony* that will silence even calumny itself, and impose conviction on the most incredulous and incorrigible Burr-ite.

Third, Mr. Ogden went from this city to Washington to consult with the leaders of the federal party, at the seat of government on the 27th of December. 1800.—Mr. Burr and himself rode together in the mail. Mr. Ogden was authorised at Washington to negotiate with Mr. Burr the terms on which the federal party proposed to elect him to the presidency.—Mr. Ogden returned with great expedition. About the 15th of January 1801, Mr. Ogden completed his negotiation with Mr. Burr. The connection between Mr. Ogden and general Hamilton is so well known in this city, as to warrant the assertion that the one could hardly be possessed of a political secret without communicating that secret to the other. It will be believed, as highly probable, that Mr. Ogden informed general Hamilton of the ne-

gociation. About the 20th of January we say that general Hamilton wrote the letter on which the one herein inserted is predicated, and which is dated "Washington, January 29th, 1801."—This letter, which we ascribe to general Hamilton, details the negotiation, the propositions submitted to, and the answers of Mr. Burr. If general Hamilton is not the writer of that letter, if he is not that "high federal character" who has long had "predominant controul" in the federal party, he will of course deny it. But we are persuaded he cannot. If however, he should, a thing not anticipated, disavow having written a letter of this nature, then will the writer's name be devulged by the gentleman who communicated the letter from Washington, giving an account of the negotiation, and that negotiation be as completely brought home to Mr. Ogden as if the letter which we ascribe to general Hamilton were written by him.

Fourth. It appears that Mr. Burr, on the first interview with Mr. Ogden, entered fully and cordially into his views, and assented to his propositions: and that accordingly, while he himself affected to disguise his own projects at Albany, his confidential friend Mr. Van Ness was writing letters, requesting one of our representatives, as the *sense of the republicans of this state*, to drop Mr. Jefferson, and vote for Mr. Burr; and that this conduct on the part of Mr. Van Ness corresponds with the terms of Burr's negotiation with Mr. Ogden.

Such is the state of this deep laid plot, such the agents who have been active in it; and happy indeed is it for the country that it is at length brought to light.

We have much more to say: we have a very powerful *corps de reserve* of testimony. But as the evening grows late, and the developement must appear according to promise, we close for the present with inviting, in the late language of Mr. Burr "AN UNION OF ALL HONEST MEN" to save the country.

DENNISTON & CHEETHAM.

New-York.

A SUMMARY,
Of the POLITICAL PRINCIPLES of JOHN ADAMS, late President of the United States, illustrated and proved by extracts from his writings on Government.

(Concluded from page 108.)

"A N equal mixtxre of monarchy, aristocracy and democracy, is the only free government, which has been able to manage the greatest heroes and statesmen, the greatest individuals and families, or combination of them, so as to keep them always in obedience to the laws." 3. 376

"It is the true policy of the common people to place the whole executive power in one man, to make him *a distinct order in the State*, from whence arises an inevitable jealousy between him and the gentlemen; this forces him to become a father and protector of the common people, and to endeavor always to humble every proud aspiring Senator, or other officer in the State, who is in danger of acquiring an influence too great for the law, or the spirit of the Constitution." 3. 460.

"What greater refuge can a nation have, than in a council, in which the national maxims, and the spirit and genius of the State, are preserved by *a living tradition*? What stronger motive to virtue, and to the preservation of liberty, can the human mind perceive, next to those of rewards and punishments in a future state, than the recollection of *a long line of ancestors who have set within the walls of the Senate*, and guided the councils, led the armies, commanded the fleets, and fought the battles of the people, by which the nation has been sustained in its infant years, defended from dangers, and carried, through calamities, to wealth, grandeur, prosperity and glory?" 3. 333.

"In this point we are perfectly agreed, viz. that there can be no constitutional liberty, no free state, no right constitution of the commonwealth, where the people are excluded from the government; where, indeed, the people have not *an independent equal share with the other two orders* of the State, and an absolute controul over all laws and grants of money." 3. 361.

"Whenever the people have had any share in the executive, or more than one third part of the legislative, they have always abused it, and rendered property insecure." 3. 391.

"And if the people are sufficiently enlightened to see all the dangers that surround them, they will always be represented by *a distinct personage* to manage the whole executive power; *a distinct Senate*, to be the guardians of property against levellers for the purpose of plunder, to be a repository of the national tradition of public maxims, customs and manners, and to be controllers in turn, both of *kings* and their ministers on one side, and the representatives of the people on the other, when either discover a disposition to do wrong;—and *a distinct House of Representatives*, to be the guardians of the public purse, and to protect the people in their turn against both *kings* and *nobles*." 3. 368.

"The *king* and *Lords* are interested to prevent any *commoner* from being too popular and powerful; the *king* and *commons* are interested to keep any *lord* from being too popular and powerful; and the *lords* and *commons* are interested to prevent the *king* from being too popular and powerful, and they always have the

means. There is not a stronger argument against our author's (*Nedham's*) form, nor in favor of the *triple composition*." 3. 380.

"The Americans have agreed with this writer (*Nedham*) in the sentiment, "*that it is but reason that the people should see that none be interested in the supreme authority but persons of their own election, and such as must, in a short time, return again into the same condition with themselves;*" This hazardous experiment they have tried, and if elections are soberly made, it may answer very well; but if parties, factions, drunkenness, bribes, armies and delirium, come in, as they always have done sooner or later, to embroil and decide every thing, the people must again have recourse to conventions, and find a remedy. Neither philosophy nor policy has yet discovered any other cure, than by prolonging the duration of the first magistrate and senators. The evil may be lessened and postponed, by elections for longer periods of years, *till they become for life*; and if this is not found an adequate remedy, there will remain no other but to make them *hereditary*. The delicacy or the dread of unpopularity, that should induce any man to conceal this important truth from the full view and contemplation of the people, would be a weakness, if not a vice." 3. 296.

"It should always be remembered, that this is not the first experiment that was ever made in the world of elections to great offices of state: how they have hitherto operated in every great nation, and what has been their end is very well known. Man-kind have universally discovered that chance was preferable to a corrupt choice, and have trusted providence rather than themselves. First magistrates and senators had better be made hereditary at once, than that the people should be universally debauched and bribed, go to loggerheads and fly to arms regularly every year. Thank Heaven! Americans understand calling conventions; and if the time should come, as it is very possible it may when *hereditary descent shall become a less evil than annual fraud and violence*, such a convention may still prevent the first magistrate from becoming absolute as well as hereditary." 3. 282.

"No appointment of a king or senate, or any standing power, can be, in the nature of things, for a longer period than *quam diu se bene gesserit* (*during good behavior*) the whole nation being judge. An appointment for life, or perpetuity, can be no more than an appointment until further order; but further order can only be given by the nation; and until the nation shall have given the order, an *estate for life, or in fee*, is held in office." 3. 387.

"This violent declamation, however does not remove the danger of venality, faction, sedition, and civil war, in the choice of governors and senators, principles more brutish and irrational, more fit to be hissed out of the world, than *hereditary kings and senators—evils, indeed, if you will, but the least of the two.*"
3. 371.

Many other passages, of similar import, might be added, if necessary. But those recited are submitted to the reader, as abundantly sufficient to prove the principles of Mr. Adams to be such, as they are summarily stated in the introduction.

These principles were published, in three volumes, before their author was elected Vice-President. They were well known to the leaders of both political parties, and indeed formed the ground of support and opposition to his election to that, and the more important office of President of the United States. The principal measures of his administration also systematically tended to the same result, so far as the existing constitution and the times permitted. Yet a great proportion of the people, especially in New-England, do not even now understand his real and avowed principles of government. Several causes have contributed to this misunderstanding. His personal popularity, particularly in Massachusetts and the neighboring States, acquired by early patriotism, revolutionary services and foreign negotiations, predisposed us to put the most favorable construction on every thing said or written or done by him. His book is scarce and not much perused by common readers. Its title is "*A Defence of the American Constitutions,*" altho' it ought in justice to be entitled a labored recommendation of the English government. The system recommended in it is called a *Republic*. The influential *Federalists*, by party means, have veiled the real tendency and object of that system, and the corresponding measures of his administration, under the once fascinating name of *Federalism*. In the mean time the public attention has been distracted and bewildered by our foreign relations. Under all these imposing circumstances, his hostility to the democratic principle of the Executive and Senatorial branches of our government, and his settled preference of *monarchic* and *aristocratic* powers and balances, have been, and still are unseen and disbelieved by many real *Republicans*, who by co-operating with the *Federalists* in support of him and his administration, have unintentionally supported a system, which their souls abhor. Such men have in fact mistaken their party, and, when once convinced of the mistake, will if honest, reunite with the supporters of *Republicanism*, the good old cause, which animated our patriots to

undertake a Revolution, and for which our heroes bravely fought and bled.

The sensibility of the public has been lately excited, on this subject by the publication of the following interesting correspondence between the late President ADAMS, and his ancient friend, the venerable SAMUEL ADAMS, late Governor of Massachusetts, the father of the American Revolution and the uniform and consistent advocate of *Republican* principles, institutions and government.

LETTER I.

New-York, September 12, 1790.

DEAR SIR,

UPON my return from Philadelphia, to which beloved city I have been, for the purpose of getting an house to put my head in next winter, I had the pleasure of receiving your favor of the second of this month. The sight of our old Liberty Hall, and of several of our old friends, had brought your venerable idea to my mind, and continued it there a great part of the last week; so that a letter from you, on my arrival, seemed but in continuation. I am much obliged to the "confidential friend," for writing the short letter you dictated, and shall beg a continuance of similar good offices.

Captain Nathaniel Byfield Lyde, whom I know very well, has my hearty good wishes. I shall give your letter and his to the Secretary of the Treasury, the duty of whose department it is, to receive and examine all applications of the kind. Applications will probably be made in behalf of the officers who served the last war, in the navy, and they will be likely to have the preference to all others: but captain Lyde's application shall nevertheless be presented, and have a fair chance.

My family, as well as myself, are, I thank God, in good health, and as good spirits as the prospect of a troublesome removal will admit. Mrs. Adams desires her particular regards to your lady and yourself.

What, my old friend, is this world about to become? Is the millennium commencing? are the kingdoms of it, about to be governed by reason? your Boston town-meetings, and our Harvard College, have set the universe in motion. Every thing will be pulled down. So much seems certain. But what will be built up? Are there any principles of political architecture? What are they? Were Voltaire and Rousseau masters of them? Are their disciples acquainted with them? Locke taught them

principles of liberty : but I doubt whether they have not yet to learn the principles of government. Will the struggle in Europe, be any thing more than a change of impostors and impositions ?

With great esteem and sincere affection,
I am, my dear Sir,
your friend and servant,

JOHN ADAMS.

*His Honour SAMUEL ADAMS, Esq.
Lieut. Governor of Massachusetts.*

LETTER II.

Boston, October 4, 1790.

DEAR SIR,

WITH pleasure I received your letter of September 12th. And as our good friend, to whom I dictated my last, is yet in town, I have requested of him a second favour.

You ask, what the world is about to become ? and, is the millennium commencing ? I have not studied the prophecies, and cannot even conjecture. The golden age, so finely pictured by poets, I believe has never yet existed, but in their own imaginations. In the earliest periods, when, for the honor of human nature, one should have thought man had not learnt to be cruel, what scenes of horror have been exhibited in families of some of the best instructors in piety and morals ! Even the heart of our first father was grievously wounded at the sight of the murder of one of his sons, perpetrated by the hand of the other.—Has mankind since seen the happy age ? No, my friend. The same tragedies have been acted on the theatre of the world, the same arts of tormenting have been studied and practised to this day ; and even religion and reason united, have never succeeded to establish the permanent foundations of political freedom and happiness, in the most enlightened countries on the earth. After a compliment to Boston town-meetings, and our Harvard College, as having “set the universe in motion,” you tell me, Every thing will be pulled down. I think with you, “So much seems certain.” But what, say you, will be built up ? Hay, wood, and stubble, may probably be the materials, till men shall be yet more enlightened and more friendly to each other. “Are there any principles of political architecture ?” Undoubtedly. “What are they ?” Philosophers, ancient and modern, have laid down different plans, and all have thought themselves masters of the true principles. Their disciples have followed them, probably with a blind prejudice, which is always an enemy to truth, and have

thereby added fresh fuel to the fire of contention, and increased the political disorder.

Kings have been deposed by aspiring nobles, whose pride could not brook restraint. These have waged everlasting war, against the common rights of men. The love of liberty is interwoven in the soul of man, and can never be totally extinguished, and there are certain periods when human patience can no longer endure indignity and oppression. The spark of liberty then kindles into a flame, when the injured people, attentive to the feelings of their just rights, magnanimously contend for their complete restoration. But such contests have too often ended in nothing more than "a change of impostors and impositions." The patriots of Rome put an end to the life of Caesar, and Rome submitted to a race of tyrants in his stead. Were the people of England free, after they had obliged king John to concede to them their ancient rights and liberties, and promised to govern them according to the old law of the land? Were they free after they had wantonly deposed their Henrys, Edwards, and Richards, to gratify *family pride*? Or after they had brought their first Charles to the block, and banished his family? They were not. The nation was then governed by King, Lords and Commons; and its liberties were lost by a strife among three powers, soberly intended to check each other, and keep the scales even.

But while we daily see the violence of the human passions controlling the laws of reason and religion, and stifling the very feelings of humanity, can we wonder that in such tumults, little or no regard is had to political checks and ballances? And such tumults have always happened within as well as without doors. The best formed constitutions that have yet been contrived by the wit of man, have and will come to an end; because "the kingdoms of the earth have not been governed by reason." The pride of kings, of nobles, and leaders of the people, who have all governed in their turns, have disadjusted the delicate frame and thrown all into confusion.

What then is to be done? Let divines and philosophers, statesmen and patriots, unite their endeavors to renovate the age, by impressing the minds of men with the importance of educating their *little boys and girls*—of inculcating in the minds of youth, the fear and love of the Deity, and universal philanthropy; and in subordination to these great principles, the love of their country—of instructing them in the art of self-government, without which they never can act a wise part in the government of societies, great or small—in short of leading them in the study and practice of the exalted virtues of the christian system, which

will happily tend to subdue the turbulent passions of men, and introduce that golden age, beautifully described in figurative language—when the wolf shall dwell with the lamb, and the leopard lie down with the kid—the cow and the bear shall feed; their young ones shall lie down together, and the lion shall eat straw like the ox—none shall then hurt or destroy, for the earth shall be full of the knowledge of the Lord. When this millennium shall commence—if there shall be any need of civil government, indulge me in the fancy that it will be in the Republican form, or something better.

I thank you for your countenance to our friend Lyde. Mrs. Adams tells me to remember her to yourself, lady, and connections, and be assured, that I am, sincerely, your friend,

SAMUEL ADAMS.

The VICE-PRESIDENT of the United States.

LETTER III.

New-York, October 18, 1790.

DEAR SIR,

I AM thankful to our common friend, as well as to you, for your favour of the 4th, which I received last night. My fears are in unison with yours, that hay, wood and stubble will be the materials of the new political buildings in Europe, till men shall be more enlightened and friendly to each other.

You agree that there are undoubtedly principles of political architecture: but, instead of particularising any of them, you seem to place all your hopes in the universal, or at least more general, prevalence of knowledge and benevolence. I think with you, that knowledge and benevolence ought to be promoted as much as possible; but, despairing of ever seeing them sufficiently general for the security of society, I am for seeking institutions which may supply, in some degree the defect. If there were no ignorance, error, or vice, there would be neither principles nor systems of civil or political government.

I am not often satisfied with the opinions of Hume; but in this he seems well founded, that all projects of government, founded, in the supposition or expectation of extraordinary degrees of virtue, are evidently chimerical. Nor do I believe it possible, humanly speaking, that men should ever be greatly improved in knowledge or benevolence, without assistance from the principles and system of government.

I am very willing to agree with you in fancying, that in the greatest improvement of society, government will be in the Republican form. It is a fixed principle with me that all good government is and must be republican. But, at the same time,

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your candor will agree with me, that there is not, in lexicography, a more fraudulent word. Whenever I use the word *republic*, with approbation, I mean a government, in which the people have collectively, or by representation, an essential share in the sovereignty. The republican forms of Poland and Venice are much worse, and those of Holland and Bern very little better, than the monarchical form in France before the late revolution. By the republican form I know you do not mean the plan of Milton, Nedham or Turgot : for, after a fair trial of its miseries, the simple monarchical form will ever be, as it has ever been, preferred to it by mankind. Are we not, my friend, in danger of rendering the word *republican*, unpopular in this country by an indiscreet, indeterminate and equivocal use of it ? The people of England have been obliged to wean themselves from the use of it, by making it unpopular and unfashionable, because they found it was artfully used by some, and simply understood by others, to mean the government of their interregnum Parliament. They found they could not wean themselves from that destructive form of government so entirely, as that a mischievous party would not still remain in favor of it, by any other means than by making the words *republic* and *republican* unpopular. They have succeeded to such a degree, that, with a vast majority of that nation, a republican is as unamiable as a witch, a blasphemer, a rebel, or a tyrant. If, in this country, the word *republic* should be generally understood, as it is by some, to mean a form of government inconsistent with a mixture of three powers, forming a mutual balance, we may depend upon it that such mischievous effects will be produced by the use of it as will compel the people of America to renounce, detest and execrate it, as the English do. With these explanations, restrictions and limitations, I agree with you in your love of republican governments, but in no other sense.

With you I have also the honor most perfectly to harmonise, in your sentiments of the humanity and wisdom of promoting education in knowledge, virtue and benevolence. But I think that these will confirm mankind in the opinion of the necessity of preserving and strengthening the dykes against the ocean, its tides and storms. Human appetites, passions, prejudices and self love will never be conquered by benevolence and knowledge alone, introduced by human means. The millenium itself neither supposes nor implies it. All civil government is then to cease, and the Messiah is to reign : That happy and holy state is therefore wholly out of this question. You and I agree in the utility of universal education : but will nations agree in it, as fully and extensively as we do ? And be at the expense

of it? We know, with as much certainty as attends any human knowledge, that they will not. We cannot, therefore, advise the people to depend for their safety, liberty, and security, upon hopes and blessings, which we know will not fall to their lot. If we do our duty then to the people, we shall not deceive them, but advise them to depend upon what is in their power, and will relieve them.

Philosophers, ancient and modern, do not appear to me to have studied nature, the whole of nature, and nothing but nature. Lycurgu's principle was war and family pride; Solon's was what the people would bear, &c. The best writings of antiquity upon government, those, I mean, of Aristotle, Zeno and Cicero, are lost. We have human nature, society and universal history to observe and study, and from these we may draw all the real principles which ought to be regarded. Disciples will follow their masters, and interested partizans their chieftains, let us like it or not—we cannot help it. But if the true principles can be discovered, and fairly, fully and impartially laid before the people, the more light increases, the more the reason of them will be seen, and the more disciples they will have. Prejudice, passion and private interest, which will always mingle in human inquiries, one would think might be enlisted on the side of truth, at least in the greatest number, for certainly the majority are interested in the truth if they could see to the end of all its consequences. "Kings have been deposed by aspiring nobles." True, and never by any other. "These" (the nobles, I suppose) "have waged everlasting war against the common rights of men." True, when they have been possessed of the *summa imperii* in one body, without a check! So have the plebeians—so have the people, so have kings—so has human nature in every shape and combination, and so it ever will. But, on the other hand, the nobles have been essential parties in the preservation of liberty, whenever and wherever it has existed. In Europe, they alone have preserved it against kings and people, wherever it has been preserved: or at least with very little assistance from the people. One hedious despotism, as horrid as that of Turkey, would have been the lot of every nation of Europe, if the nobles had not made stands. By nobles, I mean not peculiarly an hereditary nobility, or any particular modification, but the natural and actual aristocracy among mankind. The existence of this you will not deny. You and I have seen four noble families rise up in Boston; the CRAFTS, GORES, DAWES, and AUSTINS.—These are as really a nobility in our town, as the Howards, Somersets, Berties, &c. in England.—Blind, undistinguishing reproaches against the aristocratical part of mankind, a division which nature has made,

and we cannot abolish, are neither pious nor benevolent. They are as pernicious as they are false. They serve only to foment prejudice, jealousy, envy, animosity and malevolence. They serve no ends but those of sophistry, fraud and the spirit of party. It would not be true, but it would not be more egregiously false, to say that the people have waged everlasting war against the rights of men.

"The love of liberty," you say, "is interwoven in the soul of man." So it is, according to La Fontaine, in that of a wolf; and I doubt whether it be much more rational, generous or social, in one than in the other, until in man it is enlightened by experience, reflection, education and civil and political institutions, which are at first produced, and constantly supported by a few—that is, by the nobility. The wolf, in the fable, who preferred running in the forest, lean and hungry, to the sleek, plump and round sides of the dog, because he found the latter was sometimes restrained, had more love of liberty than most men. The numbers of men, in all ages, have preferred ease, slumber and good cheer to liberty, when they have been in competition. We must not then depend alone upon the love of liberty in the soul of man, for its preservation. Some political institutions must be prepared to assist this love against its enemies. Without these, the struggle will ever end only in a change of impostors. When the people, who have no property, feel the power in their own hands to determine all questions by a majority, they ever attack those who have property, till the injured men of property lose all patience, and recur to finesse, trick and stratagem, to outwit those who have too much strength, because they have too many hands, to be resisted any other way. Let us be impartial then, and speak the whole truth. Till we do, we shall never discover all the true principles that are necessary. The multitude therefore, as well as the nobles, must have a check. This is one principle.

"Were the people of England free, after they had obliged king John to concede to them their ancient rights?" The people never did this.—There was no people who pretended to any thing. It was the nobles alone. The people pretended to nothing but to be villains, vassals and retainers to the king, or the nobles. The nobles, I agree, were not free, because all was determined by a majority of their votes, or by arms, not by law. Their feuds deposed their "Henrys, Edwards, and Richards," to gratify lordly ambition, patrician rivalry, and 'family pride.' But, if they had not been deposed, those kings would have become despots, because the people would not and could not join the nobles, in any regular and constitutional opposition to them.

They would have become despots, I repeat it, and that by means of the villains, vassals and retainers aforesaid. It is not family pride, my friend, but family popularity, that does the great mischief, as well as the great good. Pride in the heart of man is an evil fruit, and concomitant of every advantage; of riches, of knowledge, of genius, of talents, of beauty, of strength, of virtue, and even of piety. It is sometimes ridiculous, and often pernicious: but it is even sometimes, and in some degree, useful. But the pride of families would be always and only ridiculous, if it had not family popularity to work with. The attachment and devotion of the people to some families inspires them with pride. As long as gratitude or interest, ambition or avarice, love, hope, or fear shall be human motives of action, so long will numbers attach themselves to particular families. When the people will in spite of all that can be said or done, cry a man or family up to the skies, exaggerate all his talents and virtues, not hear a word of his weakness or faults, follow implicitly his advice, detest every man he hates, adore every man he loves, and knock down all, who will not swim down the stream with them, where is your remedy? When a man or family are thus popular, how can you prevent them from being proud? You and I know of instances, in which popularity has been a wind, a tide a whirlwind. The history of all ages and nations is full of such examples.

Popularity, that has great fortune to dazzle; splendid largesses to excite warm gratitude; sublime, beautiful, and uncommon genius, or talents, to produce deep admiration; or any thing to support high hopes and strong fears, will be proud; and its power will be employed to mortify enemies gratify friends, procure votes, emoluments, and power. Such family popularity ever did and ever will govern, in every nation, in every climate, hot and cold, wet and dry—among civilized and savage people; christians and mahometans; jews and heathens. Declamation against family pride is a pretty juvenile exercise; but unworthy of statesmen. They know the evil and danger is too serious to be sported with. The only way, God knows is to put these families into an hole by themselves, and set two watches upon them; a superior to them all, on one side, and the people on the other.

There are a few popular men in the Massachusetts, my friend, who have, I fear, less honor, sincerity, and virtue, than they ought to have. These, if they are not guarded against, may do another mischief. They may excite a party spirit, and a mobbish spirit, instead of the spirit of liberty, and produce another Wat Tyler's rebellion. They can do no more. But I really think their party language ought not to be countenanced; nor their

Shibboleths pronounced. The miserable stuff they utter about the *well-born* is as despicable as themselves. The *eugeneis* of the Greeks, the *biennes* of the French, *gewellgebornen* of the Germans and Dutch, the *beloeved families* of the Creeks, are but a few samples of national expressions of the same thing, for which every nation on earth has a similar expression. One would think that our scribblers were all the sons of redemptioners or transported convicts. They think with Tarquin. "*In novo populo, ubi omnis repentina atque ex virtute nobilitas sit futurum locum forti ac strenuo viro.*"

Let us be impartial : There is not more of family pride on one side, than of vulgar malignity and popular envy on the other. Popularity in one family, raises envy in others. But the popularity of the least deserving will triumph over envy and malignity ; while that, which is acquired by real merit, will very often be overborne and oppressed by it.

Let us do justice to the people, and to the nobles—for nobles there are, as I have before proved, in Boston as well as in Madrid. But to do justice to both, you must establish an arbitrator between them : This is another principle.

It is time that you and I should have some sweet communion together. I do not believe, that we who have preserved, for more than thirty years, an uninterrupted friendship, and have so long thought and acted harmoniously together, in the worst of times, are now so far asunder in sentiment as some people pretend ; in full confidence of which, I have used this freedom, being ever your warm friend.

JOHN ADAMS.

*His Honour SAMUEL ADAMS, Esq.
Lieut. Governor of Massachusetts.*

LETTER IV.

Boston, November 20, 1790.

DEAR SIR,

I LATELY received your letter of the 18th of October.—
The sentiments and observations contained in it demand my attention.

A republic, you tell me is a government in which the "people have an essential share in the sovereignty." Is not the whole sovereignty, my friend, essential in the people ? Is not government designed for the welfare and happiness of all the people ? and is it not the uncontrollable, essential right of the people to amend and alter or annul their constitution, and frame a new one, whenever they shall think it will better promote their own welfare and happiness to do it ? That the sovereignty resides in the

people, is a political doctrine which I have never heard an American politician seriously deny. The constitutions of the American States reserve to the people the exercise of the rights of sovereignty, by the annual or biennial election of their governors, senators and representatives to impeach the greatest officers of the state before the senators, who are also chosen by themselves. *We the people*, is the style of the federal constitution: they adopted it; and conformably to it, they delegate the exercise of the powers of government to particular persons, who, after short intervals, resign their powers to the people, and they will re-elect them, or appoint others, as they think fit.

The American legislatures are nicely balanced. They consist of two branches, each having a check upon the determinations of the other. They sit in different chambers, and probably often reason differently in their respective chambers, on the same question:—if they disagree in their decisions, by a conference, their reasons and arguments are mutually communicated to each other. Candid explanations tend to bring them to agreement; and then according to the Massachusetts constitution, the matter is laid before the first magistrate for his revision. He states objections, if he has any, with his reasons, and returns them to the legislators, who by larger majorities, ultimately decide.—Here is a mixture of three powers, founded in the nature of man; calculated to call forth the rational faculties, in the great points of legislation into exertion; to cultivate mutual friendship and good humour; and, finally, to enable them to decide, not by the impulse of passion or party prejudice, but by the calm voice of reason, which is the voice of God. In this mixture you may see your “natural and actual aristocracy among mankind” operating among the several powers in legislation, and producing the most happy effects. But the son of an excellent man may never inherit the great qualities of his father; this is a common observation and there are many instances of its truth. Should we not therefore, conclude, that hereditary nobility is a solecism in government? Their lordships’ sons, or grandsons, may be destitute of the faintest feelings of honor or honesty, and yet retain an essential share in the government, by right of inheritance from his ancestors, who may have been the minions of ministers, the favorites of mistresses, or men of real and distinguished merit. The same may be said of hereditary kings: Their successors may also become so degenerated and corrupt as to have neither inclination nor capacity to know the extent and limits of their own powers, nor, consequently, those of others. Such kind of political beings nobles, or kings, possessing hereditary right to essential shares

in an equipoised government, are very unfit persons to hold the scales. Having no just conception of the principles of the government, nor of the part which they and their copartners bear in the administration, they run a wild career, destroy the checks and balances, by interfering in each others departments, till the nation is involved in confusion, and reduced to the danger, at least, of bloodshed, to remove a tyranny which may ensue. Much safer is it, and much more does it tend to promote the welfare and happiness of society, to fill up the offices of government after the mode prescribed in the American Constitutions, by frequent elections of the people. They may, indeed, be deceived in their choice: they sometimes are. But the evil is not incurable; the remedy is always near; they will feel their mistakes and correct them.

I am very willing to agree with you in thinking, that improvements in knowledge and benevolence receive much assistance from the principles and systems of good government. But is it not as true, that without knowledge and benevolence, men would neither have been capable nor disposed to search for the principles or form the system? Should we not, my friend, bear a grateful remembrance of our pious and benevolent ancestors, who early laid plans of education? by which means, wisdom, knowledge and virtue have been generally diffused among the body of the people, and they have been enabled to form and establish a civil constitution, calculated for the preservation of their rights and liberties. This constitution was evidently founded in the expectation of the further progress and extraordinary degrees of virtue: It enjoins the encouragement of all seminaries of literature, which are the nurseries of virtue depending upon these for the support of government, rather than titles, splendor or force. Mr. Hume may call this a "chimerical project;" I am far from thinking the people can be deceived, by urging upon them a dependance on the more general prevalence of knowledge and virtue. It is one of the most essential means of further, and still further improvements in society; and of correcting and amending moral sentiments and habits, and political institutions: till, "by human means," directed by divine influence, men shall be prepared for that "happy and holy state," when "the Messiah is to reign."

"It is a fixed principle that all good government is and must be, republican." You have my hearty concurrence; and I believe we are well enough acquainted with each other's ideas to understand what we respectively mean, when we "use the word with approbation." The body of the people in this country are not so ignorant, as those in England were in the Interregnum

Parliament. They are better educated—they will not easily be prevailed upon to believe that “a republican is as unamiable as a witch, a blasphemer, a rebel, or a tyrant.” They are charmed with their own forms of government, in which are admitted a mixture of powers to check the human passions, and control them from rushing into exorbitances. So well assured are they, that their liberties are best secured by their own frequent and free election of fit persons to be the essential sharers in the administration of their government, and that this form of government is truly *republican*; that the body of the people will not be persuaded nor compelled to “renounce, detest and execrate” the very word *republican*, “as the English do.” Their education has “confirmed them in the opinion of the necessity of preserving and strengthening the dykes against the ocean, its tides and storms;” and I think they have made more durable dykes than the English have done.

We agree in the utility of universal education, but “will nations agree in it as fully and extensively as we do?” Why should they not? It would not be fair to conclude, that because they have not yet been disposed to agree in it, they never will. It is allowed that the present age is more enlightened than former ones. Freedom of inquiry is certainly more encouraged; the feelings of humanity have softened the heart; the true principles of civil and religious liberty are better understood; tyranny, in all its shapes, is more detested; and bigotry, if not still blind, must be mortified to see that she is despised. Such an age may afford at least a flattering expectation that nations, as well as individuals, will view the utility of *universal education* in so strong a light, as to induce sufficient national patronage and support. Future ages will probably be more enlightened than this.

The love of liberty is interwoven in the soul of man—“So it is in that of a wolf.” However irrational, ungenerous and unsocial the love of liberty may be in a rude savage, he is capable of being enlightened by experience, reflection, education, and civil and political institutions. But, the nature of the wolf is, and ever will be, confined to running in the forest to satisfy his hunger and his brutal appetites; the dog is inclined, in a very easy way, to seek his living; and fattens his sides from what comes from his master’s kitchen. The comparison of La Fontaine, is, in my opinion, ungenerous, unnatural and unjust.

Among the numbers of men, my friend, are to be found not only those, who have “preferred ease, slumber, and good cheer to liberty; but others, who have eagerly sought after thrones and sceptres, hereditary shares in sovereignty, riches and splendor, titles, stars, garters, crosses, eagles, and many other child-

ish play-things, at the expense of real nobility, without one thought or care for the liberty and happiness of the rest of mankind.

"The people who have no property, feel the power of governing by a majority, and ever attack those who have property." "The injured men of property recur to finesse, trick and stratagem to outwit them." True: these may proceed from a lust of domination in *some* of both parties. Be this as it may, it has been known that such deceitful tricks have been practised by some of the rich upon their unsuspecting fellow-citizens, to turn the determination of questions so as to answer their own selfish purposes. To plunder, or filch the rights of men, are crimes equally immoral and nefarious, though committed in different manners. Neither of them is confined to the rich or the poor; they are too common among both. The Lords, as well as the Commons, of Great-Britain, by continued large majorities, endeavored by finesse, tricks and stratagems, as well as threats, to prevail on the American colonies to surrender their liberty and property to their disposal:—These failing, they attempted to *plunder* our rights by force of arms. We feared their arts more than their arms. Did the members of that hereditary House of Lords, who constituted those repeated majorities, then possess the spirit of nobility? Not so, I think. That spirit resided in the *illustrious* minorities in both Houses.

But, "by nobles," who have prevented "one hideous despotism, as horrid as that of Turkey, from falling to the lot of every nation of Europe," you mean, "not peculiarly an hereditary nobility, or any particular modification, but the natural and actual aristocracy among mankind;" the existence of which I am not disposed to deny. Where is this aristocracy found? Among men of all ranks and conditions. The cottager may beget a wise son; the noble a fool. The one is capable of great improvement—the other not. Education is within the power of men, and societies of men: wise and judicious modes of education, patronized and supported by communities, will draw together the sons of the rich and the poor, among whom it makes no distinction; it will cultivate the natural genius, elevate the soul, excite laudable emulation to excel in knowledge, piety and benevolence; and finally, it will reward its patrons and benefactors by shedding its benign influence on the public mind. Education inures men to thinking and reflection, to reasoning and demonstration. It discovers to them the moral and religious duties they owe to God, their country, and to all mankind. Even savages might, by means of education, be instructed to frame the best civil and political institutions, with as much skill

and ingenuity as they now shape their arrows. Education leads youth to "the study of human nature, society and universal history," from whence they may "draw all the principles" of political architecture which ought to be regarded. All men are "interested in the truth:" education by shewing them "the end of all its consequences," would induce at least the greatest numbers to enlist on its side. The man of good understanding, who has been well educated, and improves these advantages, as far as his circumstances will allow, in promoting the happiness of mankind, in my opinion, and I am inclined to think in yours, is indeed "well born."

It may be "peurile and unworthy of statesmen" to declaim against *family pride*; but there is, and always has been, such a ridiculous kind of vanity among men. "Statesmen know the evil and danger is too serious to be sported with." I am content they should be put into one hole, as you propose; but I have some fears that your watchmen on each side will not well agree. When a man can recollect the *virtues* of his ancestors, he certainly has abundantly more solid satisfaction, than another who boasts that he sprang from those who were *rich* or *noble*, but never discovers the least degree of virtue or true worth of any kind. "Family popularity," if I mistake not, has its source in family pride. It is by all means, sought after, that homage may be paid to the name of the title or estate, to supply the want, in the possessor, of any great or good quality whatsoever. There are individuals among men, who study the art of making themselves popular, for the purpose of getting into places of honor and emoluments, and, by these means, of gratifying hereafter, the noble passion, "family pride." Others are so enchanted with the music of the sound, that they conceive it to be supreme felicity.—This is, indeed, vanity of vanities! and, if such deluded men ever come to their senses, they will find it to be vexation of spirit. When they reflect on their own folly and injustice, in having swallowed the breath of applause, with avidity and great delight, for merit which they are conscious they never had; and that many, who have been the loudest in sounding their praises, had nothing in view but their own private and selfish interests, it will excite in them the feelings of shame, remorse and self contempt. The truly virtuous man, and real patriot, is satisfied with the approbation of the wise and discerning: he rejoices in the contemplation of the purity of his own intentions, and waits, in humble hope, for the plaudit of his final Judge.

I shall not venture again to trespass on the benevolence of our confidential friend. You will not be sorry: It will afford you

relief; for, in common civility, you must be at the trouble of reading one's epistles. I hope there will be a time when we may have "sweet communion together." In the interim, let me not lose the benefit of your valuable letters. Adieu.

Believe me your sincere friend,

SAMUEL ADAMS.

The VICE-PRESIDENT of the United States.

Now, reader, with whom of those two illustrious correspondents do you, in your heart agree. This is not a question of idle curiosity, but of practical importance. For it is the real question between the two political parties of the United States, reduced to its first principles. Here is the starting point of difference. The systems of the *Federalists* and *Republicans* are built on these two respective foundations. The distinguishing measures adopted and advocated by the *Federal* party, under Mr. ADAMS's administration, are a practical exposition of his written principles. Even when *Hamilton*, *Pickering*, &c. quarrelled with him, on the subject of the French negotiation, so as to omit him in their toasts, they toasted his principles. The disguise at length is wearing out; and the parties seem to be coming more directly to the true point. One main object of the present turbulent opposition evidently is to exaggerate the evils of elections to such a degree as to disgust a majority of the American people with an elective chief magistracy, and thereby prepare them for the remedy recommended by Mr. ADAMS, of prolonging the duration of the office, by an amendment of the Constitution, to the term of life at least, if not an hereditary perpetuity. On this great question every citizen ought now to make up his deliberate judgment and act accordingly.

THE PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE TO BOTH HOUSES OF CONGRESS.

TO THE SENATE AND HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES OF THE
UNITED STATES.

WHEN we assemble together, fellow-citizens, to consider the state of our beloved country, our just attentions are first drawn to those pleasing circumstances which mark the goodness of that being from whose favor they flow, and the large measure of thankfulness we owe for his bounty. Another year has come around, and finds us still blessed with peace and friend-

ship abroad, law, order and religion at home, good affection and harmony with our Indian neighbors, our burthens lightened; yet our income sufficient for the public wants, and the produce of the year great beyond example. These, fellow-citizens, are the circumstances under which we meet; and we remark with special satisfaction those which, under the smiles of providence, result from the skill, industry and order of our citizens, managing their own affairs in their own way, and for their own use, unembarrassed by too much regulation, unoppressed by fiscal exactions.

On the restoration of peace in Europe, that portion of the carrying trade, which had fallen to our share during the war, was abridged by the returning competition of the belligerent powers. This was to be expected and was just. But, in addition, we find, in some parts of Europe, monopolizing discriminations, which, in the form of duties, tend effectually to prohibit the carrying thither our own produce in our own vessels. From existing amities and a spirit of justice, it is hoped that friendly discussion will produce a fair and adequate reciprocity. But should false calculations of interest defeat our hope, it rests with the legislature to decide whether they will meet inequalities abroad with countervailing inequalities at home, or provide for the evil in any other way.

It is with satisfaction I lay before you an act of the British parliament anticipating this subject, so far as to authorise a mutual abolition of the duties and countervailing duties, permitted under the treaty of 1794. It shews on their part a spirit of justice and friendly accommodation, which it is our duty and our interest to cultivate with all nations. Whether this would produce a due equality in the navigation between the two countries, is a subject for your consideration.

Another circumstance which claims attention, as directly affecting the very source of our navigation, is the defect or the evasion of the law providing for the return of seamen, and particularly of those belonging to vessels sold abroad. Numbers of them discharged in foreign ports, have been thrown on the hands of our consuls, who, to rescue them from the dangers into which their distresses might plunge them, and save them to their country, have found it necessary in some cases, to return them at the public charge.

The cession of the Spanish province of Louisiana to France, which took place in the course of the late war, will, if carried into effect, make a change in the aspect of our foreign relations, which will doubtless have just weight in any deliberations of the legislature connected with that subject.

There was reason, not long since, to apprehend that the warfare in which we were engaged with Tripoli, might be taken up by some other of the Barbary powers. A reinforcement, therefore, was immediately ordered to the vessels already there. Subsequent information however has removed these apprehensions for the present. To secure our commerce in that sea, with the smallest force competent, we have supposed it best to watch strictly the harbour of Tripoli. Still, however, the shallowness of their coast, and the want of smaller vessels on our part, has permitted some cruisers to escape unobserved : and to one of these an American vessel unfortunately fell a prey. The captain, one American seaman, and two others of colour, remain prisoners with them ; unless exchanged under an agreement formerly made with the Bashaw, to whom, on the faith of that, some of his captive subjects had been restored.

The Convention with the State of Georgia has been ratified by their legislature, and a repurchase from the Creeks has been consequently made, of a *part* of the Tallessee county. In this purchase has been also *comprehended* a part of the lands within the fork of Oconee and Oakmulgee rivers. The particulars of the contract will be laid before Congress so soon as they shall be in a state for communication.

In order to remove every ground of difference possible with our *Indian* neighbours, I have proceeded in the work of settling with them, and marking the boundaries between us. That with the Choctaw nation is fixed in one part, and will be through the whole within a short time. The country to which their title had been extinguished before the revolution is sufficient to receive a very respectable population, which Congress will probably see the expediency of encouraging, so soon as the limits shall be declared. We are to view this position as an Outpost of the United States, surrounded by strong neighbors, and distant from its support. And how far that monopoly, which prevents population, should here be guarded against, and actual habitation made a condition of the continuance of title, will be for your consideration. A prompt settlement too of all existing rights and claims within this territory, presents itself as a preliminary operation.

In that part of the Indiana territory which includes Vincennes, the lines settled with the neighbouring tribes fix the extinction of their title at a breadth of twenty-four leagues from East to West, and about the same length parrallel with and including the Wabash. They have also ceded a tract of four miles square, including the Salt-Springs near the mouth of that river.

In the department of finance it is with pleasure I inform you that the receipts of external duties, for the last twelve months, have exceeded those of any former year, and that the ratio of increase has been also greater than usual. This has enabled us to answer all the regular exigencies of government, to pay from the Treasury, within one year, upwards of eight millions of dollars—principal and interest, of the public debt, exclusive of upwards of one million paid by the sale of bank stock, and making in the whole a reduction of nearly five millions and a half of principal, and to have now in the treasury four millions and an half of dollars, which are in a course of application to the further discharge of debt, and current demands. Experience too, so far, authorises us to believe, if no extraordinary event supervenes, and the expences which will be actually incurred shall not be greater than were contemplated by Congress at their last session, that we shall not be disappointed in the expectations then formed. But nevertheless, as the effect of peace on the amount of duties is not yet fully ascertained, it is the more necessary to practice every useful economy, and to incur no expence, which may be avoided without prejudice.

The collection of the internal taxes having been compleated in some of the states, the officers employed in it are of course out of commission. In others they will be so shortly. But in a few, where the arrangements for the direct tax had been retarded, it will still be some time before the system is closed. It has not yet been thought necessary to employ the agent authorised by an act of the last session, for transacting business in Europe relative to debts and loans. Nor have we used the power, confided by the same act, of prolonging the foreign debt by reloans, and of redeeming instead thereof, an equal sum of the Domestic Debt. Should however the difficulties of remittance on so large a scale, render it necessary at any time, the power shall be executed, and the money thus unemployed abroad shall, in conformity with that law, be faithfully applied here in an equivalent extinction of Domestic Debt. When effects so salutary result from the plans you have already sanctioned, when merely by avoiding false objects of expense, we are able, without a direct tax, without internal taxes, and without borrowing, to make large and effectual payments towards the discharge of our public debt, and the emancipation of our posterity from that mortal canker, it is an encouragement, fellow-citizens, of the highest order, to proceed as we have begun in substituting economy for taxation, and in pursuing what is useful for a nation placed as we are, rather than what is practised by others under different circumstances. And whensoever we are destined to meet events which

shall call forth all the energies of our countrymen, we have the firmest reliance on those energies, and the comfort of leaving for calls like these, the extraordinary resources of loans and internal taxes. In the mean time, by payments of the principal of our debt, we are liberating, annually, portions of the external taxes, and forming from them a growing fund, still further to lessen the necessity of recurring to extraordinary resources.

The usual account of receipts and expenditures for the last year, with an estimate of the expences of the ensuing one, will be laid before you by the Secretary of the Treasury.

No change being deemed necessary in our military establishment, an estimate of its expences for the ensuing year, on its present footing, as also of the sums to be employed in fortifications, and other objects within that department, has been prepared by the Secretary at War, and will make a part of the general estimates which will be presented you.

Considering that our regular troops are employed for local purposes, and that the militia is our general reliance for great and sudden emergencies, you will doubtless think this institution worthy of a review, and give it those improvements of which you find it susceptible.

Estimates for the naval department, prepared by the Secretary of the Navy for another year, will in like manner be communicated with the general estimates. A small force in the Mediterranean will still be necessary to restrain the Tripoline cruisers: and the uncertain tenure of peace with some other of the Barbary powers, may eventually require that force to be augmented. The necessity of procuring some smaller vessels for that service, will raise the estimate: but the difference in their maintenance will soon make it a measure of economy.

Presuming it will be deemed expedient to expend annually, a convenient sum towards providing for the naval defence which our situation may require, I cannot but recommend that the first appropriations for that purpose, may go to the saving what we already possess. No cares, no attentions, can preserve vessels from rapid decay, which lie in water, and exposed to the sun.—These decays require great and constant repairs, and will consume, if continued, a great portion of the monies destined to naval purposes. To avoid this waste of our resources, it is proposed to add to our navy yard here, a dock within which our present vessels may be laid up dry, and under cover from the sun. Under these circumstances experience proves that works of wood will remain scarcely at all affected by time. The great abundance of running water which this situation possesses, at heights far above the level of the tide, if employed as is practised

for lock navigation, furnishes the means for raising and laying up our vessels, on a dry and sheltered bed. And should the measure be found useful here, similar depositories for laying up, as well as for building and repairing vessels, may hereafter be undertaken at other Navy yards, offering the same means. The plans and estimates of the work, prepared by a person of skill and experience, will be presented to you, without delay, and from these it will be seen that scarcely more than has been the cost of one vessel is necessary to save the whole, and that the annual sum to be employed towards its completion may be adapted to the views of the legislature as to naval expenditure.

To cultivate peace and maintain commerce and navigation in all their lawful enterprises ; to foster our fisheries as nurseries of navigation, and for the nurture of man, and protect the manufactures adapted to our circumstances ; to preserve the faith of the nation by an exact discharge of its debts and contracts, expend the public money with the same care and economy we would practise with our own, and impose on our citizens no unnecessary burthens ; to keep in all things within the pale of our constitutional powers, and cherish the federal union, as the only rock of safety ; these fellow citizens, are the landmarks by which we are to guide ourselves in all our proceedings. By continuing to make these our rule of action, we shall endear to our countrymen the true principles of their constitution, and promote an union of sentiment and of action, equally auspicious to their happiness and safety. On my part you may count on a cordial concurrence in every measure for the public good ; and on all the information I possess which may enable you to discharge to advantage the high functions with which you are invested by your country.

TH: JEFFERSON.

Washington, December 15, 1802.

For the CONNECTICUT REPUBLICAN MAGAZINE.

THAT mankind are born free, seems to be an uncontrovertible truth, which every one who possesses the least reflection will most heartily embrace. This truth must be peculiarly dear to Americans, when they recollect, that for the enjoyment of this their birth right, and "Heaven's best gift to man," their forefathers quitted their native soil, repaired to this then inhospitable wilderness, underwent all the hardship and fatigue

naturally resulting from the wild uncultivated desert, the frigidity of the climate, and the ferocity of the Savages, in hopes that at such a remove from their imperious Lord, they might with some degree of *freedom* exercise those natural and unalienable *rights*, civil and religious, which were the gift of the universal Creator, without being subjected to that servile fear and diabolical persecution, which all those who have the spark of freedom sprouting in their breasts must endure, who are confined under the more central influence of despotic sway.

But how will the love of liberty and hatred of tyranny be swelled in every American breast, when a retrospect is taken of succeeding and more modern events.

Scarce had our hardy and illustrious Sires overcome the hardships of the new world, and the precious seeds of liberty they had sown were beginning to sprout, when their haughty and ambitious lords were viewing with a dotards eye, the cautious and tardy strides they were making towards liberty and the rights of man, and the royal and Lordly mandate was issued, return ye rebels, ye runaways, return, to what? *to your rightful Lords, your natural bondage!* Such language could proceed only from the mouths of Tyrants; and it was heard with the indignation natural to be expected from those, who were beginning to study and understand the principles of liberty, and had tasted its sweets.

With what manly fortitude did many of you, my countrymen and Fathers, meet the servile band, who were sent to bring you back to your former masters, and fix you in a state of *Slavery*, even worse than that from which your Fathers fled. With what forcible and manly strains of eloquence was it asserted "That all men are born free, and that no *individual* ought to be bound to obey any laws, to which he has not by himself, or his representative, given his consent." That to take away the property of people by taxation, who have no voice in making the laws, is the most flagrant injustice, and no better than highway robbery.

Such were the principles that inspired the breast, and such the conduct that strengthened the nerves of the glorious achievers of the American revolution. Citizens of Connecticut, in this revolution you bore a very important and conspicuous part. It was against the unhallowed claims of tyrants, and in the cause of liberty, and for the support of those important principles, that you spilt your blood and expended your treasure.

Have you now lost sight of the prize for which you have so nobly fought and bled; and will you suffer your beloved Republic to degenerate into a tyranny worse than an "Oriental Despotism?" Will you submit to that tyranny in your own state,

against which every faculty of your minds and every power of your bodies were set in motion, when endeavored to be palmed upon you by a foreign Despot? Did you really fight for a complete emancipation from *Slavery* in whatever garb it might appear, or whatever name it may assume, or did you only contend for a change of *British* to *Connecticut Slavery*? Will you by your anti-republican and tyrannical laws, contradict the plainest principles of reason, and fault the conduct of the great creator? Reason says all men are born *free*, and the all wise creator has sent them into the world naked and destitute: but the laws of Connecticut say, a man must have a freehold estate worth 6 Dollars and 66 Cents a year, or be 134 Dollars on the common list, in order to be made free! Strange contradiction and absurdity! For if 134 Dollars, or a certain portion of land worth 6 Dollars and 66 Cents a year, are necessary in order to make men free, then it will unavoidably follow that all are born slaves, for all can with the greatest truth exclaim with poor Job "naked came I from my mothers womb." But can a reasonable mind be reconciled to the idea of men's being born *Slaves*? Will not the free and intelligent minds of Americans immediately reply, if this is the sad condition of man, it might be emphatically said "it would have been better not to have been born." But if we consider freedom as necessary to the happiness of man (as I think every intelligent mind must) and still consider a certain portion of this worlds treasure as necessary in order to entitle him to the privileges of *freemen*, then the all wise Governor of the universe has called them into existence and set them on eager pursuit of happiness, without furnishing them with prerequisites necessary in order to attain it. Will you charge such cruelty and folly on the merciful and wise creator? Is not he the best judge of the qualifications necessary to intitle men to the important franchise of *freemen*? and if the qualifications enumerated in the Laws of Connecticut are absolutely necessary in order to *make freemen*, why did he not send them into the world with a purse of gold by their side or a deed in their hands? and not leave such an important part of his work to be finished by the select men and civil authority of towns, some of whom he must have known (if he possesses the prescience we ascribe to the Deity) would be entirely unqualified for the business.

Citizens of Connecticut, it is high time your attention was seriously engaged on these important points. Some may say perhaps, that such a happy mediocrity prevails among the inhabitants of Connecticut, and that the means of procuring property is so effectually within the power of every honest and industrious citizen, that but very few can want the necessary qualifications.

and those must be the idle and dissolute. However plausible this may appear at first view, yet on a little reflection it will appear "light as a puff of air:" yet let it be remembered, that it is not for the idle and vicious that we are pleading, but for the honest poor industrious man, the fruit of whose industry is taken from him to pay the salaries of those men whom he had no voice in appointing; and who is obliged to equip himself at his own expence, and spend four days in the year, together with other expences, in preparing to defend those laws to which he never has given his consent, and to protect those privileges he is not permitted to enjoy. And let it be remembered likewise, that riches are not exclusively the portion of the virtuous, but that the vilest of mortals often riot in fortunes lap, and that virtue is more generally confined to the lower ranks of life; and let it be remembered likewise, that the legislature have the same right to make a thousand pounds the qualification for freemen, as 134 Dollars, and so by a single act of legislation throw the whole sovereignty into the hands of the rich and luxurious, and reduce the virtuous and industrious poor, to total dependence and abject slavery.

These are not fine spun and useless speculations, or visionary theories, but serious and important truths, that immediately concern every individual in the State, let his rank in society, or condition in life, be what it may, for as none are beneath the attention of the laws, none should consider the laws beneath their attention. They regard not only your own happiness, but the happiness of posterity; nor does the investigation require the acuteness and sagacity of a Locke or a Newton, but they are within the compass of every man of common sense. To qualify a man to judge on these important principles of freedom, he has no need to turn the twenty Camel's load of the Roman civil law, nor to study the numerous codes of Justinian or the Popish Legends, nor the more modern and fashionable intricacies and labyrinths of British authorities, or to spend twenty years of daily and perplexing study and lucubration; but by a short appeal to that divine spark of intelligence which he received when the Almighty breathed into him the breath of life, the matter is easily decided. If any auxiliaries are needed let him read the spirited and manly declamations of the patriots of '76 and he will soon find the same spirit to glow in his bosom in 1803.

SENEX, Jun.

For the **CONNECTICUT REPUBLICAN MAGAZINE.**

ON THE RISE, PROGRESS AND FALL OF LIBERTY AND LITERATURE.

By a Young Lady of the county of Berkshire, Massachusetts.

IN those dark ages, when traditions tell
Of magic arts, how heroes fought and fell,
How Gods descended to protect the brave,
And to the manly Grecian, valor gave ;
'Twas then fair genius first unveil'd her charms,
While brilliant science lull'd in Grecian arms,
Ador'd and idoliz'd, th'enraptur'd mind
Caught her expansion, polish'd and refin'd ;
No churlish tyrants to obstruct her reign,
Her wish an Athen's glory to obtain ;
Under her reign th'immortal Homer rose,
From whose bright page a radiant lustre flows,
Unrival'd still, by every modern bard,
His genius e'en by envy is rever'd ;
And to impress at once the Grecian soul,
See Demosthenes, in him you see the whole,
In whom all human greatness ever shown,
With eloquence to melt the heart of stone :
Alike the martial field its heroes knew,
Valient, victorious, to their country true,
Eager to risk their lives in freedom's cause,
Boldly stood forth, to assert her sacred laws,
Held in contempt, the tyrant's bloody sway,
To whose caprices millions fall a prey ;
No haughty despot, dar'd to obstruct the flight
Of the bold Eagle, through the expanse of light ;
Freedom of every blessing sought by man,
Bore the pre-eminence with public gain,
And genius, culture, liberty combine,
To make the golden age of Athens shine :
Not Persia's valor, tho for heroes famed,
Whose vengeance vainly at the Athenian aim'd,
Could stand in battle, 'gainst the Grecian sword,
From whose fierce point, the crimson streamlet pour'd ;
Contending nations sought to wrest their fame,
And vainly fought to obscure the Grecian name,
Till by successful contest, tired of force,
They left the martial for the suppliant's course,

And bow'd submission at bright freedom's throne,
Yielding the immortal name to Greece alone.

And now bright Athens shone in all her power,
Europe's first blossom and of earth the flower ;
Wildly intoxicated with her fame,
Forgot her freedom to resound her name ;
But while enraptured with her virtues bright,
The poor neglected Eagle took his flight,
And left his once admir'd Athenian band,
To seek a welcome in some distant land :
But months and years, pass'd on the roll of time,
E'er the deserted found a liberal clime—
When in far distant climes his fame was known,
Oblivion rested on his native throne :
And now in Greece intestine tumults rise,
Vice bears the sway, and humble virtue dies ;
Rude anarchy, rides on the ruffled main,
And next insues the dire despotic chain—
Whose binding force no human strength could break,
Nor could the Grecian more to virtue wake :
Forc'd at the tyrant's nod, in low despair,
Reluctantly despotic arms to bear,
And now no more for liberty to strive,
But in slavery and dissipation live :
Then was the power of Demosthenes in vain,
Not eloquence could calm the ruffled main ;
At length fair genius fled, all virtue died,
And long had freedom quit the Athenian tide,
Hence dark oblivion bars the Grecian door,
Resounding freedom, honor, wealth no more :
Succeeding years were hur'd in deadly night,
Nor once fair liberty unveil'd her sight.
All supine nations slept the years away,
Sinking like Greece, behind the orb of day ;
But soon a new born world, arose to view,
The soil as fertile as the climate new.
Fair Rome, whose infant charms had power t'invite
The wearied Eagle from his toilsome flight,
Here long he reign'd, sole monarch of a Rome,
And here bright genius found a welcome home ;
Bold patriots rose, beaming that radiant fire,
Which fam'd the hero and the Grecian Sire,
The stars of glory beam'd their smiling rays,
And sparkling, told of future blissful days,
When Rome tho' free, would rule a subject world

And terrors from the Roman arm be hurl'd ;
Soon was their pow'r o'er barb'rous nations spread,
Nor was the Roman soul to virtue dead :
From pole to pole, their valiant arms were known,
While honor sat triumphant on their throne.
Then rose their Cæsars, whose heroic might
Exploring far, dispens'd the shades of night,
From Adria's banks, to the Norwegian cliffs,
Where frozen natures hedious smmit lifts.
Britania too, nor Gallia's powerful force,
Aided from far could check their vig'rous course,
Their fame transcendant lives in every age,
Graces superior the immortal page.
But soon the Demon of contention rose,
Vilely creating fierce internal foes,
Banish'd by them was freedom in despair,
And virtue soon his fate was forc'd to share :
Hence waves the sceptre in a tyrants hand,
While cringing suppliants wait austere command,
And dire oppressions spreading wings expand,
Forcing submission through an abject land ;
Tyrants, succeeding Tyrants, fill'd that throne,
Where nought but fierce barbarity was known ;
Thousands experienc'd the inhuman stroke,
And millions sunk beneath their iron yoke :
At length grown high, Rome felt her timely fate,
And sunk like Greece, beneath oppressions weight,
No more to rise, while suns and stars appear,
She whispers terror in the listening ear,
Bidding be cautious of the treacherous snare,
And of the aspiring tyrant still beware ;
Rapine, and war, mark'd the succeeding age,
And nought but vengeance stains the historic page.
All Europe rose and fought internal force,
For happiness, they knew no other source ;
But may enlighten'd worlds reject the road,
Where their illiterate barb'rous fathers trod.
An age ensued, when drooping science found,
A hero, guardian, nor for vice renown'd ;
Who still from weak obscurity arose,
And bore the indignant scoffs of Princely foes ;
Immortaliz'd alone by him, that age
Surpasses all events in every stage,
Columbian shade, and hast thou paid thy due,
By opening to the world a golden view,

Or must thou censured still remain, till time,
 Shuts the dark night o'er every age and clime.
 What gratitude must every patriot feel,
 Viewing Columbus for his country's weal
 Mounting the unknown, wild, tempestuous main,
 His country's honor, with a world to gain ;
 To this far western clime, fair genius came,
 And here has plac'd her radiant temple fame,
 Bright freedom dauntless wing'd the ocean o'er,
 And here alighted to return no more.
 Long may he reign o'er vile conflicting power,
 And still remain, the first Columbian flower,
 And may no tyrants long design'd for Hell,
 Our union, freedom, happiness repell,
 But may immortal Washingtons be found,
 To make our clime respected and renown'd,
 And when the sun of time, has pass'd his ray,
 May the bold Eagle, close that latent day.

TO A YOUNG LADY.

WHY droops my friend, thy tender heart ?
 Why languishes thine eye ?
 Let friendship's voice relief impart,
 And check the swelling sigh.

Soon shall the favour'd youth return,
 For love now chides his stay,
 To bid his THEO. cease to mourn,
 And kiss the tear away.

So oft if sighs thy besom move,
 The idol of thy swain,
 Think how they sigh, who, though they love,
 Yet are not lov'd again.

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SUBSCRIPTIONS received at the Office of the Connecticut Republican Magazine.

Suffield, December 30th, 1802.

TO those who have perused this *POEM*, any encomiums upon its merits, are unnecessary; to those who have not, we can with justice observe, that the harmony of its style, the chastity of its sentiments, and the justice of its remarks, secures it an admirer in every reader of judgment and taste. While it affords delight to the scholar, by its erudition, it is no less pleasing to the farmer, who on its pages will find *himself* in miniature, and his *farm* in landscape.